

## Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 299658 TOSEC 320133

NODIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT GENEVA 9818 ACTION SECSTATE DTD 09 DEC 76.

QTE: S E C R E T GENEVA 9818

NODIS

DEPT PASS THE SECRETARY'S PARTY IN BRUSSELS

FOR AMB SCHAUFLE FROM WISNER

DEPT PASS LONDON FOR SEITZ

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR RH UK

SUBJECT: RHODESIA CONFERENCE: ANYAOKU URGES TABLING OF NEW  
SETTLEMENT PACKAGE

1. I LUNCHED WITH COMMONWEALTH (NIGERIAN) OBSERVER  
ANYAOKU AND ASKED HIM WHAT IDEAS HE WANTED ME TO  
TAKE TO LONDON THIS WEEKEND. REITERATING THE POINTS  
HE HAD TO ASST. SECRETARY REINHARDT LAST WEEK,  
(GENEVA 9621) ANYAOKU STRESSED THAT IF THE CONFERENCE IS  
TO ACHIEVE ANYTHING, IT MUST SURMOUNT THE DIFFERENCES  
BETWEEN SMITH'S CONCEPTION OF INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND  
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THOSE OF THE NATIONALISTS. SMITH'S POSITION, WHICH

THE NATIONALISTS CAN IN NO WAY ACCEPT, IS THAT POWER DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD MUST BE SHARED ON THE BASIS OF PARITY, INDEED WITH SMITH HAVING A SLIGHT EDGE. THE PERCEPTION INCREASINGLY SHARED BY THE NATIONALISTS IN GENEVA, HE SAID, IS THAT THE UNITED STATES, CONTRARY TO ITS STATED PRINCIPLES, ACTUALLY BELIEVES THAT WHITES MUST HAVE EQUAL IF NOT DOMINANT POWER DURING THE TRANSITION. THE US, HE SAID, HAS AN OPPORTUNITY TO PROVE THIS PERCEPTION INCORRECT BY SUPPORTING A NEW SETTLEMENT PACKAGE THAT ENVISAGES BRITAIN ASSUMING SOME OF THE POWERS NOW HELD BY SMITH AND HOLDING THESE POWERS "IN TRUST" DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD.

2. I EMPHASIZED THAT THERE WAS NO BASIS WHATSOEVER FOR QUESTIONING THE US COMMITMENT TO MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE, AND THAT WE WILL DO EVERYTHING IN OUR POWER TO ENSURE AN IRREVERSIBLE TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE. THE NATIONALIST DEMAND FOR IMMEDIATE MAJORITY RULE, HOWEVER, WAS BOTH UNACCEPTABLE AND UNWORKABLE. BY REJECTING OUT OF HAND THE CONCEPT OF A COUNCIL OF STATE, THE NATIONALISTS HAD FAILED TO EXAMINE HOW ACTUAL POWER WITHIN A TWO-TIER STRUCTURE COULD SET OUT TO PROTECT THEIR INTERESTS AND THE IRREVERSABILITY OF THE PROCESS.

3. ANYAOKU BELIEVES THAT A NEW PACKAGE WHICH CONTAINS BRITISH RESPONSIBILITIES IS NEVERTHELESS NECESSARY AND THAT IT CAN BE PUT TOGETHER HERE IN GENEVA AND SUCCESSFULLY PRESENTED TO THE NATIONALISTS NEXT WEEK, AFTER IT HAS BEEN QUICKLY RUN BY THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS WHOM HE BELIEVES WOULD ENDORSE IT. THE OBJECT WOULD NOT BE TO GET AGREEMENT ON THE PACKAGE BEFORE THE CONFERENCE ADJOURNS FOR THE HOLIDAYS, BUT RATHER TO TABLE A PROPOSAL THAT WOULD ADJOURN THE CONFERENCE ON A POSITIVE NOTE AND THUS PROVIDE THE BASIS AND MOMENTUM FOR RECONVENING AFTER CHRISTMAS. THIS IS THE MESSAGE THAT OBASANJO HAS ASKED COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY GENERAL RAMPHAL TO CONVEY TO THE SECRETARY IN

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LONDON (GENEVA 9784).

4. ANYAOKU SAID THAT ONE SHOULD NOT TAKE TOO SERIOUSLY THE NATIONALISTS' DEMANDS FOR A COMPLETE AND UNCONDITIONAL TRANSFER OF POWER TO THEM AT THE START OF THE INTERIM PERIOD, NOR THEIR PRESENT OPPOSITION TO A MEANINGFUL BRITISH PARTICIPATION IN THE TRANSITION. EVEN A MODIFIED TWO TIERED STRUCTURE MIGHT PROVE TO BE NEGOTI-

TIABLE. THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS, HE SAID, ARE READY TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN BRINGING NATIONALISTS TO ACCEPT AN ALTERNATIVE FRAMEWORK. FOR A NEW PACKAGE TO BE ACCEPTABLE, HOWEVER, IT MUST REDEFINE THE PURPOSE OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD AND GET AWAY FROM THE TERM, THOUGH NOT THE CONCEPT, OF POWER SHARING. AS PRESENTLY UNDERSTOOD BY THE NATIONALISTS, THE IDEA OF POWER SHARING CONNOTES SMITH'S CONCEPT OF PARITY, WHICH THE NATIONALISTS REGARD AN ANATHEMA. WE SHOULD INSTEAD BEGIN TO TALK ABOUT THE INTERIM PERIOD AS ONE IN WHICH ESTABLISHED MECHANISMS WILL SET IN MOTION AN IRREVOCABLE TRANSFER OF POWER FROM THE MINORITY TO THE MAJORITY.

5. ANYAOKU WANTED TO LEAVE NO DOUBT, HOWEVER, THAT EVEN AT THE OUTSET OF THE TRANSITION, THE MAJOR SHARE OF POWER WOULD HAVE TO BE IN AFRICAN HANDS. PICKING UP A METAPHOR I HAD USED EARLIER IN THE CONFERENCE, ANYAOKU SAID THAT IF POWER COULD BE DIVIDED EQUALLY INTO TEN BOTTLES, SIX OF THESE WOULD GO TO THE NATIONALISTS. "THE QUESTION IS, WHICH FOUR BOTTLES WOULD IT BE BEST FOR THE NATIONALISTS NOT TO DRINK AT THE OUTSET WITH BRITAIN SERVING AS THE TOAST-MASTER." IN MORE CONVENTIONAL TERMS, WHAT POWERS WOULD IT BE NECESSARY TO LEAVE IN WHITE HANDS IN ORDER TO ALLAY THEIR UNDERSTANDABLE FEARS, AND WHICH SHOULD BE DELEGATED TO THE BRITISH TO BE HELD IN TRUST DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD.

6. IN TERMS OF STRUCTURE, ANYAOKU SUGGESTED THE NEW PACKAGE MIGHT RETAIN SOME RESEMBLANCE TO THE TWO-TIER STRUCTURE BY SUBSTITUTING FOR SMITH'S PROPOSED COUNCIL OF STATE A BRITISH COMMISSIONER OR GOVERNOR  
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GENERAL WHO WOULD ACT IN CONSULTATION WITH AN AS YET UNNAMED ADVISORY BODY, SUCH AS A PRIVY COUNCIL OR NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL. DEFINITION AND ELABORATION OF THE ACTUAL STRUCTURE COULD BE WORKED ON DURING THE RECESS AND AGREED UPON WHEN THE CONFERENCE RECONVENES. BY TABLING THE NEW PACKAGE NEXT WEEK, AND BY GETTING THE SUPPORT OF THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS IN ADVANCE, ANYAOKU BELIEVES IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO ADJOURN THE CONFERENCE ON A POSITIVE NOTE AND ENSURE ITS RECONVENING AFTER CHRISTMAS.

7. I TOLD ANYAOKU THAT WHILE THERE WERE TACTICAL ADVANTAGES IN THE APPROACH HE SUGGESTED, I WAS NEVERTHELESS CONCERNED ABOUT THE CHANCES THAT A NEW PACKAGE, IF TABLED NEXT WEEK, WOULD BE REJECTED OUT OF HAND. IF THIS WERE TO HAPPEN, ANYAOKU'S

HOPES OF ENDING THE CONFERENCE ON A POSITIVE NOTE WOULD  
BE DESTROYED, AND RECONVENING THE CONFERENCE MIGHT  
PROVE IMPOSSIBLE. I ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER THE SHORT  
TIME REMAINING TO GET A NEW PACKAGE ASSEMBLED IN LONDON,  
ENDORSED IN AFRICA, AND PRESENTED IN GENEVA. CATTO  
UNQTE: ROBINSON

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